/108/

115 We then looked for another interpreter, the Calderun Victoriano Piñakué, about 17 years old and very open-minded with regard to "white" civilization. His father even once visited Popayán, the capital of the department of Cauca. Through this he had a somewhat broader outlook and became involved in a quarrel with a bad shaman, in which the latter took one of his eyes by magic. Since then old Piñakué has been blind in one eye. A younger brother of Victoriano is going to school in Inzá and is the helper of the sacristan there. Victoriano is very much interested in one day becoming acquainted with [191] Popayán or even Bogotá. He speaks Spanish quite well and has [464] already earned money on occasion in the service of the white colonists and in La Plata as a construction worker, in order to [829] buy clothing of the whites for himself. By "white" the Paez mean the Spanish culture of the Colombians, namely, clothing, education, and corresponding customs, not, however, skin color or other characteristics of the white race.

Victoriano set great store by dressing, not like a Paez, but like a white. He was an enthusiastic fellow-worker, not, however, out of greed for money, but out of sincere interest, and at every opportunity he would ask how things were among us in Germany. With a great craving for knowledge, he would again and again have our photos of Europe explained to him, and he even made an effort to learn German.

115 In his native village of Calderas the work with Victoriano 156 was very difficult, since he was very unpopular because he 554 dresses like a white. Several times, when his fellow villagers were drunk, they even wanted to murder him. Once when we visited a house together, he was heckled by some tipsy men: he was called a sluggard who does nothing the whole day but talk with the "doctores" and go for walks. Besides, they said, he thinks that he is better than the rest of the Paez because he wears "white" clothing. When Victoriano replied that in his work among the whites it would be impossible for him to wear the Calderun costume, but that in his dress he was obliged to adjust to his environment, they retorted that he went to the whites merely in order to be able to eat more meat.

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115 156 554 [598] Victoriano likes to parade his outward standing of higher culture openly. He possesses soap, a toothbrush, a small brush for grooming his eyebrows, and perfume. He uses all these toilet articles very frequently. He is not afraid of the jealousy of his Calderun fellow-villagers; he always carries his machete /see the glossary, p. 249/ with him in order to defend himself. He wants to marry a "white" woman outside of Calderas (cf. also "The Course of a Day" /see p. 133 /).

124 286 386 /109/ In the work an attempt was made as a matter of principle to observe all the activities of the Paez ourselves; when this was not feasible, two different informants were questioned if possible. Two examples will show, however, that errors can creep in, even with the most careful work: I had the dyeing process for the black-dyed fabrics explained to me by the interpreter Marcos, according to whom they are first boiled with certain leaves, and then all of this is placed in black humus earth for two days. When the same question was put to Victoriano, he stated that the black coloring occurs if the fabric is placed in black humus earth for two days. At my suggestion that the fabric first had to be boiled with leaves, he delightedly agreed with me. When called to account as to why he had not told me that, he replied: "Well, you did not ask me about that; you only wanted to know how the material becomes black!"

124 423 One cannot speak sufficiently often and again and again in different ways about the same subject, for to the Paez the necessity or the meaning of explanations for things self-evident to them is usually incomprehensible. Thus in the case described there was as little ill-intent or even mere carelessness as in the following case: In roaming over boundary lines, I inquired as to which fields were private property and which were community property. We came to the general conclusion that the lowlands were community property and the mountain slopes the private property of the man or family who had first cleared the land. I asked Victoriano several times as to whether there were any pieces of land that at present had no owner. He stated emphatically that all the land had been disposed of and there was no longer any ownerless land.

/140 cont./

231 439 Since the only purpose of keeping horses among the Paez is to have as large a number as possible, it is understandable that they place importance above all on the possession of mares. The birth of a filly is therefore a great joy and everyone would be happy to trade a grown stallion for a filly, "because it again gives foals." Unfortunately this exchange takes place only all too rarely, because the colonists are not interested in the degenerate horses of the Calderun. It is different with cows (kulá; steer = tolő, heifer = novílya). Here the /141/ Calderun breed (black mottled "Holstein" and brown cattle) is healthier and usually also stronger than the cattle of the colonists. Moreover, on account of the somewhat cooler climate, their bodies are almost completely free of ticks and vermin, in contrast to the cows belonging to the inhabitants of lower altitudes, normally 231 crawling with larvae and maggots. Unlike horse meat, beef is [262] eaten, but milk is never drunk, "since the Calderun never have [272] the cows milked." The breeding goal here, too, is the greatest possible number. Thus it would never happen that a cow or calf would be slaughtered. I could not learn of any preference for a particular color, for example, black-white or brown-white, or uniformly all black or white or brown. All are liked equally well [431] by the Paez, since only the number is important. There is no special attachment between a person and his livestock, for no one gives away livestock, either as a birthday, christening, or [552] wedding present. Special names or designations for livestock or pet names are not used.

233 422 231 About half the total number of Calderun cattle and horses graze on the pastures of community land. This means about 40 horses and 60 cattle. The figure shows that only a small number of Calderun families own a cow or a horse. The proportion [554] becomes even less favorable when one learns that there are three rich families who own about ten to 20 head of cattle and horses each. The other half of the large stock, as well as sheep, pigs, and small stock, remain near the houses and seek their fodder there. [241] They may also forage in the uncultivated fields of neighbors; they are prevented by the fences from breaking into the cultivated fields.

/172 cont./

623 title of gobernador. In Paez this corresponds to the designation tõtens. At his side, in Calderas, stands the gobernador suplente as his representative; other functionaries are the alcalde /see the glossary, p. 248 / (in Paez ka'nas), of whom there are two in Calderas, the alcalde mayor and the alcalde menor, furthermore two fiscales, three comisarios, and one comisario escolar, as well as an alguacil. The composition of the cabildo in Santa Rosa is the following: a gobernador, an alcalde, a fiscal, a comisario escolar, and an alguacil. In Lame there are a gobernador, a gobernador suplente, two fiscales, one comisario, and one alguacil. The cabildo in Togoima consists of the gobernador, the gobernador suplente, two alcaldes, two fiscales, three comisarios, one comisario escolar, and one alguacil. Aside from the double and triple occupancies, the composition of the cabildo is the same in the four villages. It should be noted that there are Paez words only for the gobernador and the alcalde; Spanish designations are used for the rest of the functionaries.

623 554 The authority of the gobernador as the leader of the village rests more on his personal prestige than on official means of power. He must therefore be very cautious with his regulations and instructions. He has the collectively conceived decisions of the village council carried out with respect to road or bridge building or the repair of the church, the school, or the community house. While his regulations remain within the scope of what the great majority of the village also regards as good, the collectivity exerts strong pressure on those who stand apart. In flagrant instances of apartness, however, he has quite drastic measures at his disposal, which, though they are today no longer as strictly wielded as formerly, can nevertheless be very effective in the hands of an energetic gobernador. It is taken for granted, however, that the gobernador acts neither unjustly nor arbitrarily, sets a good example in all undertakings, and is active first and last in the communal work. How little the gobernador is in a position to issue arbitrary orders within his village may be illustrated by the following example: One Saturday the gobernador

[626]

123 623 554

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123 of Calderas came from the weekly market in Inzá and visited
623 me in San Andrés. When in the course of the conversation I
554 mentioned that I would be coming to Calderas on the following Monday, he suggested that I arrive there early. He said that he already knew that I was interested in everything concerning
[476] his village and on Monday /173/ I could be present at a community project for all the men of the village in clearing a field. Since my interpreter was not free until Monday, I could not set out on Sunday in order to be present in time for the field work on Monday. I begged him to postpone the communal project for a day or two. That would be impossible, he replied, since this work had been decided upon for Monday by the cabildo and
123 he was not in a position to change the date independently. I
623 offered him as a gift a very handsome travel-machete with a
554 sheath, in case he might be in a position to postpone the work.
411 Generally the Paez own only the heavy, broad work-machete for felling trees, which they can drag along with them on the way to
[435] market only with difficulty. As a weapon for traveling, therefore, the lighter, chrome-plated machetes are greatly coveted, but on account of their high price of 12 pesos no Calderun has here-
123 tofore been able to afford one. I had put this gift aside for the
623 gobernador some time before, but had never found the proper
554 reason for presenting it. This time the occasion seemed very favorable and really worthwhile. The gobernador, although he was extremely anxious to be the first Calderun to possess the implement, explained that my request could not be fulfilled, since all the men had already been notified for Monday. I pointed out that he surely had enough messengers to inform his people that the work would not take place until a few days later. He could not make the decision to do this; he kept explaining that in addition the men would be angry. I proposed to him that I would treat them, at my expense, to ten pesos' worth of chicha to placate them, an amount that they had hardly ever had before. He could not make a decision; he finally said that he would try and would speak to his people on Sunday, and he hoped, in view of so much chicha, that he would succeed, but he could not.

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123 promise it. When I arrived in Calderas on Monday I found that
623 the men of the village had not wanted to meet a second time and
554 that they had indeed begun the work.

623 The alcaldes and the alguacil are the messengers of the
[203] cabildo; they notify the people when communal projects are
[696] necessary. Moreover, the alguacil administers corporal punish-
[203] ment. The three comisarios are likewise messengers and help
[794] the gobernador carry out and supervise public projects. It is the duty of the fiscales -- together with the gobernador -- to decorate the church. They provide candles and help the priest. According to C. Cuervo Marquez (Vol. II, p. 183), the fiscales formerly also had the duty of defending the interests of the /174/
871 village against the encroachments of the colonists. The comisario
623 escolar, finally, is responsible for the school attendance of the
[797] children. The mission sisters, as the teachers, turn to him and
[875] he is supposed to get the children to school, by force, if necessary.

It should not remain unmentioned that Calderas -- and ap-
621 parently this village only -- is divided into four parts, each of
623 which occupies roughly a cardinal point and has about 50 houses.
[361] An alcalde, alguacil, fiscal, and comisario are each an equal representative of a quarter in the cabildo. At present the alcalde is the representative of the western region of Yocashí, the alguacil the representative of the northern region of Puélche, the fiscal that of the eastern region of Aépel, and the comisario that of the southern Bishók. I was told that the connection between an office and the representation of a village quarter is arbitrary, depending on where the occupant of the post happens to live. The official position within the cabildo is first assigned, and today it is the more important. Four of them take over the representation of a village quarter each. Thus, the comisario, if he lives there, may be the representative from Yocashí, and the alcalde the representative of Aépel. The present gobernador, for example, was fiscal ten years ago. Since he lives in the village section of Puélche, he was at the same time the representative of this quarter.

848 623 /178/ the cabildo until she names the father of her child. If he is an unmarried young man, he must marry the girl. A married man, however, is beaten by the cabildo. He does not need to make support payments. It is different if a married man has no 842 848 837 [823] children. In this case the wife is regarded in principle as the one at fault. He may then have a child by an unmarried girl without being punished. He simply explains to the cabildo that he has a great deal of property and that he therefore needs children whom he cannot have by his wife. To the mother of his natural child he gives a cow, clothing, and a pretty belt, and she then surrenders her child to the lawful wife of the father of her child. He may [554] do this several times until he has enough children. This is not permitted, however, for a poor man without possessions, it was explained to me, for "why does he need children?"

844 841 [343] At the time of menstruation and also at the birth of a child the woman stays in a special small hut (dúyat). She receives her food either from her mother, sister, or a neighbor woman from a house in which several women live. This woman at the same time cooks for the members of the family of the menstruating woman. The members of the family of the woman who is temporarily cooking receive their meals from another female member of her family. The woman who takes care of the food also fetches the wood for the fire necessary for warmth in the dúyat. Female inhabitants of farms or of field huts used for only a few months, which have no [758] dúyat, go to a neighboring or related family for this period. In [602] case the housewife becomes ill, she moves into the house of one of her sisters or female relatives, where she is nursed. The male relatives of the sick woman must then likewise go to the house of this relative to eat.

614 Besides the patrilineal nuclear families, no recognized patrilineal kin-groups /Sippen/ are known among the Paez, but all who bear the same family name feel related and may not marry, even though they are not knowingly -- this knowledge goes back only two generations -- related. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ, for example, may not only not marry any girls with the patronymic Piñakuẽ, but also no girls whose mothers are named Piñakuẽ. Conditions are particularly difficult among the

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g) Festivals and Celebrations

796 The public community festivals of the Paez which are celebrated and observed in the course of the year nowadays take place only on religious occasions, on the three church holidays Semana Santa (Easter week), San Juán (June 24), and Immaculada (December 8). For the Paez these are primarily occasions for joyful gatherings, for setting off fireworks, and for eating and drinking richly and abundantly. It is not certain whether in former times there were any indigenous festivals in connection with sowing and harvesting and the natural cycle of the year, 796 and to me this does not even seem probable. There is nothing 221 in the myths and surviving indigenous customs of the Paez that 241 points to an agricultural rhythm of life; rather, religion, mythology, and ceremonial practice are remnants of a hunting and shamanistic attitude of mind. The absence of a ceremonial life connected with sowing and harvesting becomes understandable in view of the fact that it is possible to do this at any time of the year; there is no correlation between a seasonal and growth rhythm and a corresponding natural festival cycle.

796 The gobernador at the time is in charge of organizing the community festivals. The actual running of the festival, which includes the entertainment of the entire village and the serving of the necessary food and drink, is the duty of the two "fiesteros" and their helpers, the "albaceros" and "mayordomos." It is an [554] honor to be fiestero, but also an expensive matter, for this office costs each one two head of cattle, the food for the village on the festival day, and, in addition, the liberal distribution of chicha and brandy. And, to be sure, not only the chicha that is drunk by the village on the day of the festival, but also that which the helpers [426] drink when they make the chicha before the festival. Even if a fiestero hires himself out to the whites months before the festival /208/ in order to earn money, he often remains in debt for years afterward as a result of the obligations arising from the festival. In spite of the costliness of this office, the fiesteros -- so I was

/256 cont./

771 [793] [756] [797] 771 754 [797] [177] It is not certain whether in former times the Paez had a cult priesthood besides shamans such as are practicing today. In any case, to designate the priests and missionaries they use the word tikwe, /257/ which is not used for anything else. The present-day characteristic thinking of the Paez, their entire mental attitude, revolves around magic and countermagic, despite missionizing and Christianity. No injury, no illness, no deformity, no poor livestock is traced back to natural causes, but rather everything is the work of evil magic. Since the people themselves are fully convinced of this belief and ensnared by this idea, the actual achievement of the evil sorcerers corresponds to what is desired; that is to say, a person who knows he is bewitched, being mindful of the inevitability of his fate, actually becomes ● 554 ill and dies. The victims are almost always the most thrifty and industrious members of the community, those who tower above the others because of their success.

754 177 There are no persons who are privileged because of age, sex, or social position -- with the exception of the good shamans, who are incessantly the target of the evil ones. Anyone who, in dress and way of living, adopts the customs of the whites, is in the habit of associating with them, no longer chews coca, works with modern tools, and wants to carry on his farming according to the principles of the colonists is opposed by the nyic.

754 554 It is not only the outward superiority of the individual over the masses that evokes the envy of the nyic, but also the general popularity of an individual, and with it a certain personal influence within the village. Thus, for example, the father of our Victoriano was the victim of an evil charm. He is regarded as very intelligent, is a good worker, knows best how to build houses and bridges, and has even undertaken a journey to the city of Popayán. On account of his popularity and the good advice he always gives -- so it is reported -- a nyic tried to kill him out of envy. One [765] night when he was asleep the nyic robbed him of his soul. His brother noticed it, however, and spat coca on it. The next day the eye of the bewitched one became white and was close to running out, if a teyu had not helped. He is blind in that eye, however, to this day.

/261 cont./

756 mentions that in his village there are so many sick people who
787 need his help and that he has gone into the mountains to look for medicinal herbs such as the shamans have. The one addressed replies that indeed there are in the mountains many good medicinal herbs for making people well. With that he hands him a fiber bag full of herbs and explains to him for which illness this and for which that will help. Explaining in such a manner, he acquaints the youth with all the herbs and tells him how they are used. Then he shows him how to make the shaman's staff and finally lets him feel the "signs," without a knowledge of which the medicinal herbs would be useless, since the latter can indeed be used only in connection with the corresponding "signs." (Cf. in this connection, under "Folklore," the similar myths about Llivan! /see
756 pp. 217ff./). Back home again, the youth begins first of all to learn under an experienced shaman, and then starts with curing a sickness in his own family. If he is successful, other people also come to demand his services.

One may also become a shaman without having had a vision. One becomes an apprentice of a good shaman and for several years learns there the practical manipulations. This includes the handling of the shaman's staff, the knowledge of medicinal herbs, and the interpretation of the "signs," in order to make the treatment of the sick successful. Here, too, the first treatment is done among members of the family under the supervision of the shaman
● [554] teacher. His reputation and the further demand for his services in the community depend on the outcome of this treatment.

Several of the Calderun "hereditary shamans" attained their position by this latter method. For example, the tepits Martin Chukue. He is about 50 years old. His wife died six years ago. He had four children by her, three of whom are also dead. He has one child by a second wife. He lives in a small house, but has no field, no cows, sheep, or pigs. His uncle was tepits. He lived with him for many years, until he was about 30 years old. Then for the first time he received the "signs" in his arms, made his staff, and became independent. In his opinion, one cannot

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right ring finger up the arm to the heart, the person concerned will bury a relative on the next day. Signs in the palm of the right hand mean that the sick person will get well; signs in the palm of the left hand, that the mountain spirit is not accepting the gifts and the patient must die. By means of signs on the back of the left hand the mountain spirit makes it known that the offerings are insufficient. If the signs go from the palm of the right hand to the neck, this means "pest" from the Pijao. Signs in the right thumb and in the hand announce the appearance of a lost or strayed animal; signs in the corner of the left eye, that the lost animal has been stolen and has already been eaten by the thief; signs in the left arm announce the arrival of the ec spirit; signs in the right upper arm announce to the shaman that good people are asking him to be the sponsor at a christening. Signs on the head of the shaman announce that the nyic will send the pest, and if the signs go from the head into the left hand, the person is already bewitched. In these and similar ways of interpreting their signs, the shamans discover the nature of all illnesses and the means required to cure them. Thus their signs are their only treasure of experience, and if they do not feel them, or no longer feel them, they have lost the essential characteristic of being shamsns.

Besides the shamanistic signs described, for the teyu as well as for ordinary human beings of every age and sex dreams are an essential means of experience for looking into the future, as well as for confirmation of a foreign -- usually evil -- influence on one's own person. Just as the effects of evil magic on the individual are brought about through auto-suggestion, so, too, what is seen in a dream. The latter perhaps even more intensively because of a person's own, direct dream experience; only in this way can one understand the positively fatalistic attitude of the persons concerned. Our interpreter Victoriano, for example, is one of the most industrious and capable Calderun. He is determined not to remain socially on the Indio level of his village. He therefore takes /266/ work from time to time among the white colonists, in order to earn money for Colombian clothing. He is therefore

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115 787 534 greatly hated in the village. In an intoxicated state the men have often threatened to murder him. One day he came to us and said that we would have to hurry with our work, for he would soon die. He was by no means agitated when he said this, but smiled with an expression of absolute conviction. In answer to our question as to why, he stated that during the night he had dreamed of seeing himself in the grave. This is a sure sign that he must die. He would not let us ease his mind, for he knew, so he said, that he was unpopular in the village and he had been threatened with death anyway because he had seen more than the others, wore better clothes, and ate meat, instead of working in the village. For this reason the nyic would most certainly bring him to his death. It took several days and all our art of persuasion to get him away from this idea. Again and again we had to point out that, after all, he was a Christian, and as a precaution we had to give him many of our medications, before he would believe that perhaps he need not die [787] after all. In any case his medallion of the Virgin Mary, which he always carries with him, does not unconditionally help against 787 evil magic. In the following there are a few further examples of dreams that are significant in some way or other: if one dreams that he is bitten by a snake, it is a sign of bewitchment; if, however, in the dream another person kills this snake at the moment of biting, a teyu will put an end to the bewitchment. To dream of jaguars and cats indicates that there are graves of the Pijao under [783] the house. Someone will die of the "pest" of the Pijao if a person dreams that a jaguar is devouring his chickens. Dreaming about a funeral pile means that there is gold there. If one dreams about a [963] cow, his wife will die. If one kills a bull or a horse in a dream, a good person (a shaman) will die. If one is stung by wasps in a dream, it means future punishment. Carrying beams or a chicha trough in a dream means that one will soon assist at a funeral. To choke in a dream means war, captivity, or being put into prison. Moreover, it is always a bad sign to dream of arracacha; in case of a journey, one would, for example, be devoured by a jaguar in the páramo. Also, if one dreams that he is able to walk under a rock, it likewise means that a jaguar will devour him. If someone

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774 (ũ = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although
776 they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The
753 shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same; but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, ec̆, or nyic̆ without the person's becoming aware of this immediately, but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how
[775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu
756 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example,
774 if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The
754 latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must
[783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse
[824] his hands with the herbs s̆ũ and vitubĭtskwe, as well as with brandy.
[276] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar to a firefly in appearance, but different from ec̆.

554 Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew
754 silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have
756 to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive
[124] flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyic̆, which, to be sure, he had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and
[682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner: The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santisima /Holy Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

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554 754 756 herbs into their drinking-water canal. Now he had given it up, however. To us he seemed to be merely an idle talker; he did not give the impression of actually having received signs or of being serious about the matter, but rather it seemed as though he had merely learned a little by watching his father /275/ and was doing it mechanically without any inner concern. Francisco, too, had a father and grandfather as shaman predecessors. He was likewise rather ignorant, but apparently meant well. He did his best to help people.

756 753 761 Martin Chukue was completely absorbed by his calling and duty, and he was well informed, serious, and dignified in his shamanistic work. When the capitan of Calderas died, he was the shaman authorized to act for his residence, and he also conducted the purification ceremony after his burial. Martin explained the cause of death of the capitan as follows: The capitan had to die because the tũs had stolen the taff soul of the capitan. The capitan died with his left leg drawn up. He was very thin when he died, because he had not eaten anything for a long time, for [755] his taff soul had been stolen five years ago. At that time the sick man began feeling pain, and during the entire time he, Martin, had fought with the tũs, offered him medicines, and tried to appease him.

775 [774] [827] When the ũns soul (ũns also means "heart"!) leaves the body, then the person is ultimately dead. And, to be sure, ũns leaves the body by way of the upper arms, lower arms, finger tips. Shortly before it leaves the person, one may still perceive it very faintly as a pulse beat, and when the pulse beat ceases altogether, the ũns has left the body and immediately goes to heaven. No one could tell me exactly in what form it goes to heaven. In heaven, however, it again has the normal human appearance.

[755] [774] When children are ill, wool threads are put around their wrists and ankles and drawn tightly in order to prevent the escape of the ũns, or at least to make it more difficult.

/286 cont./
182 no new harvest may be undertaken until the teyu has first cleansed
756 of the pest the building site or the crops, respectively.

/287/ He is, however, not only the protector of the individual or the individual family, but is also responsible for the beneficial
[773] co-existence of the members of the whole village. Thus, it is not surprising that it was the shamans -- besides Thunder under his various names -- who were the war leaders in the mythical tradi-
[926] tions. Thanks to their magical gifts and strength, they successfully led their people against the Pijao and the Spaniards. Several times the elders of the various villages told us that one day Thunder will again drive the white intruders out of the Tierradentro of the
[641] Paez and kill them. And it is only logical that, as late as 1952,
[789] on the occasion of an impending attack by an armed group of white revolutionaries, the shaman of Santa Rosa, as the successor of the mythical Thunder, should spit his magic herbs on the road leading to the village, in order to destroy them. Old Felisa Ipia is behaving in a similar manner when she keeps the souls of all the village inhabitants gathered together in the threads of her shaman's staff, in order to be able to protect them better against evil, magical influences.

756 On account of these certain supernatural abilities of theirs, the
554 effects of which no one in the community can evade, the teyu
[885] have a certain unofficial authority. In addition, they are all at least 30 to 40 years old and thus, by their very age, fulfill one of the natural prerequisites for recognition by the community. Not a few of them feel honored by this, set apart from the great mass of people, but many assured me that they were shamans only unwillingly, that though they were called by their ability to receive signs, they were nevertheless oppressed by the weight of the burden of their responsibility.

756 During times of epidemics of disease or inexplicable, "super-
124 natural" deaths, they are the focal point of the community, to
[182] which no one appeals in vain. And in conversations with them we generally had the distinct impression of facing unselfish, helpful human beings. They make no secret of their activity, and they tried, as best they could, to tell us about their experiences and knowledge which they use for the good of the community.

1: Nachtigall--215 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/292 cont./

5. Folklore

539 The present fund of tales of the Paez is neither rich nor varied. Here, too, a certain impoverishment has undoubtedly taken place, as may be seen from fragments of larger complexes of myths. Among these there are the "Story of the Woman from Whose Body Useful Plants Come Forth," stories about transformed animals and human beings, as well as stories about werejaguars. [171] The story of the ghostly human head that comes rolling by is also extraordinarily widespread in North and South American legends [176] and has a manifold lunar-mythological meaning. In contrast to this, the complete absence of typical stories about the forest spirit (gĕlyŏmp) is noteworthy, although the latter plays an important role in the religious conceptions of the Paez. Animal and transformation tales are only very dull and colorless.

114 609 539 [887] Unfortunately, the reluctance of the Paez to communicate is particularly frustrating in the recording of the myths. It is primarily the old people who can tell stories. But they are the very ones who are particularly standoffish toward the stranger. The chroniclers and early reporters tell us nothing about the folklore of the Paez, and even the most recent travelers of the 'thirties report only the story of Juan Tama or deny that the Paez have any mythology at all.

12 609 539 [554] The stories collected by S. Bernal Villa and by myself could surely be augmented with better acquaintance among the old people. The unpopularity of our interpreter, especially among the old people, was sometimes so great an obstacle that Victoriano had to ask suitable informants for some of the stories told about his father or uncle.

539 The themes of the stories chiefly consist of tales about Thunder (Nos. 1-12), mostly under his names of Juan Tama, Llivan, Chauté, or Juan Chiracol. In the myths he is the first shaman and teacher of the present-day shamans (see under "Religion" /see pp. 176 ff. /) and considerably more powerful than human beings. He is not an exalted, numinous figure, however. On the contrary, people in olden days /293/ sometimes treated him quite badly, threw poisonous herbs in his lagoon,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

bag and the small receptacle that contains the quicklime used with the former. When out of doors a second piece of woolen cloth, longer and narrower than the first and called simply *atš*, is thrown over the shoulders, with the head likewise thrust through the middle. A narrow-brimmed hat (*tsna*) the like of which is found among the Kitšua, is the usual complement of this dress. It is made of the outer skin of a tall grass (*Gynerium saccharoides*), resembling sugar-cane and common along rivers.

The women all dress in the same way, with fabrics invariably woven by themselves. The underwear, which is often dispensed with, consists of a narrow piece of woolen tissue used as a loin cloth, passing between the legs and then rolled around the hips. Over this article is worn a broad piece of dark woolen cloth, wrapped along the body and limbs in the form of a skirt. This is the *anaco*, or *pamb-atš*, and it is attached to the waist by means of a sash called *vilia*, the elaborateness and ornamentation of which vary with the wealth of the owner. The upper part of the body is covered with a ruana called *atš-tul*, sewed along the right side and on the right shoulder, but open at the left side, being simply pinned on the left shoulder with a wooden peg or a fish-bone. When traveling the women provide themselves with another broad piece of cloth (*spatš*) which is used either as a cover or for wrapping the baby on the back. In the latter case the cloth is secured by means of a belt (plate IV, 1).

Women also wear necklaces, made now of common glass beads, silver coins, or small sea-shells, the number of strings depending on the wealth of the husband. The mention in Castillo's vocabulary of a word for bracelet (*kaschand-gnnc-tsa*) indicates the former use of such ornament. Females have no headgear. Married women part their hair along the median line of the head and allow it to hang back in two braids. Little girls wear their hair loosely behind the shoulders. In former times women painted their faces blue with the juice of a fruit called *kii*. Speaking of this custom, which seems to be obsolete now, Castillo facetiously says: "fruta . . . con cuyo zumo se pintan el rostro las Indias (*i ann las que no lo son*)." Men formerly decorated their bodies and faces with *tok*, the red color

[p. 22 skipped in paginating - Analyst]

/194 cont./

796 The albacero and fiestero with their respective wives do not work; their task is to look after the people.

796 554 Every religious fiesta has a chief fiestero and a secondary one, with their respective retinues of albaceros, mayordomos, and laborers. There is no difference of rank between the two. Both spend the same amount of money and perform the same tasks. Only the chief one performs them first; he thus has [578] primacy. Nevertheless, a certain rivalry seems to exist between the two. According to the extravagance and hospitality, there are comments as to whether the fiesta of one was better than that of the other. Prestige is also involved here. Thus, of the two fiesteros who gave the fiesta of San Juan this current year, that of the second one was said to be better, since he did not get drunk, attended all the religious ceremonies, and [273] looked after people very well. Only the last of these remarks is valid, because the abundance of food, chicha, and aguardiente was fundamental; continuous drunkenness is the mark of a good fiesta. On the other hand, he knew how to look after the people because he had already been fiestero at another time.

796 Three weeks before the festive day activity begins in the households of the fiesteros: milling the sugar cane, the distillation of the aguardiente, entertainment of visitors, and the making of candles and firecrackers.

Two weeks before the Mass, the fiesteros, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, go to take over the pueblo house, with their wives, cooks, chicha-makers, and food distributors.

All the public entertaining will be done in the spacious sala. The church banner will wave in front of the house.

4:Bernal Villa--31 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/200 cont./

XI

Gourd Vessels and Etiquette

415 There are three types of gourd vessels in which chicha is
554 distributed and whose traditional order of use reflects hierarchy,
273 majority, and high status; some gourd vessels are used for all those present, both sexes and all ages; others, only for a specific class of people.

[192] The first type is small with an ovoid opening, made of half a gourd. In the Paez dialect it is called shup /201/ /Illustration appears here/ shachi. All visitors, without distinction as to sex, age, or status, are presented with two matés of this type: the first one contains "strong water" to quench thirst, while the second contains chicha, the authentic strong chicha.

The second type of container is the shachi pitán (gourd-vessel capitan), of greater capacity than the first, ovoid in shape, and open at one end. The most respected persons of both sexes, adults and elders, are given chicha in these gourd vessels, /202/ after taking it from the shup shachi. They indicate a certain deference on the part of the host, and by the same token he wishes them to get drunk. Those who are favored with these gourds offer them to all present, who take them, taste the contents, and return them to the hands of the owner. The shachi pitán has gone from mouth to mouth, but the contents remain practically untouched; the owner is to drink it.

The laborers and mayordomos who are in his service, the albacero, the síndico /trustee/, and the highly respected elders, after having received chicha in the shup shachi and in the shachi pitán, receive a larger gourd vessel in which there is a tiny one (shachi léchukue), which is called suilté. The presentation of this has an etiquette of its own. The host comes out with the suilté in his hands, fills the shachi léchukue with

/202 cont./

415 chicha, and hands it to a person favored and respected by him;
554 the latter takes it, drinks from it, and returns the small gourd;
273

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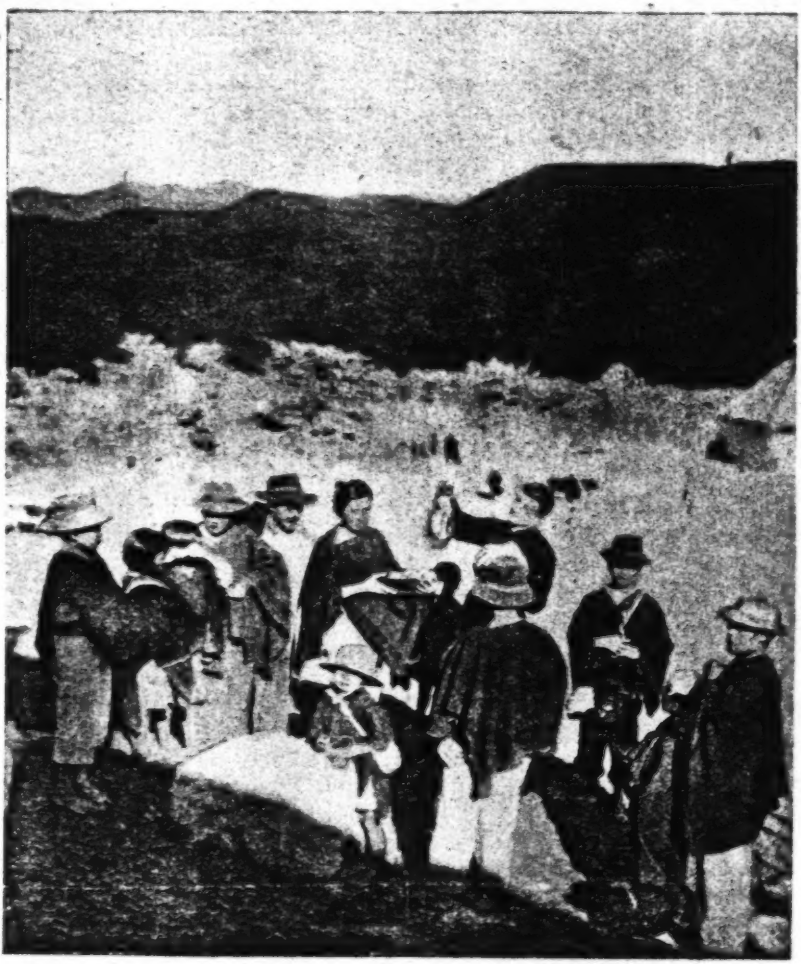

415 then he is given the suilté. In turn, he fills the small gourd and
554 gives it to the man who presented it to him. Then he distributes
273 the chicha among all those present, beginning with the adults,

4:Bernal Villa--33 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/202 cont./

415 men first and then women, and ending with the children of both
554 sexes. No one is left without a share.
273

XII

The Cleaning of the Church

346 The so-called church of Calderas, a masonry structure, is a dilapidated old building, long and tall, with a two-slope thatched roof and a hemispherical bell tower supported by four beams set into the ridgepiece. Only the front of four columns with cornices and semicircular arches which form an antechamber lends the whole a certain charm.

346 What is called the cleaning of the church is the removal
794 of a few weeds that grow in the pavement in front of it and
796 clearing a line that encircles a small plaza. The task is minimal, but it is always performed. The act is symbolic more than anything else; what matters is the meeting of the fiesteros with their respective albaceros and laborers; an occasion for taking care of the albacero, an opportunity for merriment, talk, jokes, and even games.

Some 12 days before the fiesta and on a Thursday, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, the fiestero leaves his house and goes to occupy one in the pueblo. He takes /203/ along the bull that will be sacrificed on the following day. Two days later, that is to say, on Monday, the cleaning of the church is carried out. On rare occasions
[202] it is done on a Wednesday. The ringing of bells announces the invitation and later tells the people that the cleaning is over, whereupon they drink the two calabashes of chicha which each fiestero has brought; the firecrackers are set off; "the albacero has earned a meal," they say, and deserves the honors of the table. The fiestero will take care of him with

/223 cont./

members of his family and under the direction of his teacher. The demand for his services on the part of others depends on the outcome of these treatments. Many of the young curers of Togoima, Calderas, and Santa Rosa learned in this manner. All of them state that their teachers had visions, and explicitly or implicitly admit their inferiority to them. "The ancestors had visions, and for this reason they must have been superior to us," says a curer from Calderas. Owing to this fact, people believe that the curers of today cannot talk to Thunder. They would be killed. One of the reasons given to explain why the cabildos /local councils/ of today do not go to the lagoon to wash the staffs of command is precisely the lack of curers like those of old.

Those who have had visions also place themselves under the direction of an experienced curer in order to learn the secrets of the profession. The definitive consecration as a curer is obtained when they offer the "Camarico" /a gift customarily given to guests/ to Thunder at the edge of the lagoon.

Although an apprenticeship in medicine can be undertaken at a very early age, the practice requires one to be an adult of about 30 years of age and married or living with a woman. A "very young" curer would lie, informants say.

Consecration of the te eu. The true té eu, that is to say, those who have had visions, make the offering of the "Camarico /224/ to Thunder," a ceremony carried out at the edge of a lagoon, in order to be consecrated definitively as curers, since medicine is a heritage from Thunder.

The teacher asks the pupil for a white sheep and two new pouches. The animal is sacrificed, and from each organ on the left side a small piece is cut and placed in the pouch. This is the "Camarico for Thunder." With this gift, teacher and pupil set out for the lagoon, while at home the women cook the meat with the express order that no one may eat it until they return.

/250 cont./
756 and raw food. From the Ut ká and Wé ká they receive half of the animal sacrificed, chicha, and aguardiente. In case of a serious illness, they demand a pig, a sheep, and turkeys. But they get only a little.

756 Although there is no lack of information about curers who
554 collect money for practicing their learning, such as a curer from Togoima who was in demand even in La Plata and Garzón, it may be stated that the curers do not grow rich in the profession. Rather, the practice of curing prejudices their economic activities. Some are quite poor, while others own large areas of land, good fields of maize, wheat, plantains, and arracacha, a few head of cattle, and several horses, pigs, sheep, and turkeys. They might be classified as rich. Of the five curers from the Parcialidad of Calderas, three may be regarded as rich, while of those regarded as sorcerers, only one is poor. Naturally, this has been acquired by inheritance /251/ rather than as the fruit of their own efforts. Their labors are performed in accordance with the norms that prevail in the community, that is to say, through the system of mingas. During the harvest they make a distribution of foods just as the others do. They participate actively in the work of the others, as well as at the fiestas and drinking bouts.

It remains to be noted that the richest of the community are not curers. On occasion they are frequently criticized when during the treatments they request pork and the patient is not improving. "You should be ashamed" -- they shout -- "you are eating mutton and the patient is dying."

[754] "Good curers, in referring to those regarded as sorcerers, say that they collect without fail. Whatever they see they ask for. The sorcerers say the same thing about the curers.

Social status of the Té eu. All the well-known curers are over 30 years of age. They are "elders" /mayores/ and for this reason respected by the community. It is said that the curers are no better than other men, but it is certain that they enjoy an aura of prestige and recognition different from that given by the concept of "majority" /mayoridad/.

/251 cont./

In any case, "the curers have something and are kind," said one informant. They are respected, and at entertainments they are attended to in the room where important people (síndico, capitán, gobernador, eminent old people) are received, and they are served on larger plates.

Prestige is an advantage of the curer. It is not unusual for the curer to command more devotion than the capitán of the Parcialidad.

All the curers claim to be happy in their profession, and many are grateful to their teacher for his instruction. The advantage of being a curer is to be waited on by people, to be singled out from among the others, and also to be pursued for his knowledge, says one Calderun curer. Everyone seeks him out as a good curer; many of them are regarded as priests, for people come daily to their homes to look for them. They have more power than other people.

The curer has a high social status by virtue of his functions. But for no reason other than these functions. He commands respect and recognition for services rendered. No one can treat him badly. If during a drinking bout he is offended in some way, on the following day they hasten to make amends.

/252/ Psychological characteristics of the Té eu. The curers vary in age from 30 to 70 years old. As a rule, they have eyes deeply set in the orbital sockets, a penetrating gaze, a readiness to converse and laugh, a gentle manner, not at all aggressive; they are temperate and show much self-control and sureness in their movements.

A characteristic motor habit: seated on a very low log, they give the impression of squatting; their arms rest on their knees and with their hands they stroke their temples or chin. This motor habit is prevalent among Paez men.

Their clothing is typically Paez; they do not favor change, although they are friendly enough with whites. They always advise their patients not to use the remedies of the whites or they will die.

/256 cont./

754 Sorceresses are numerous, and it seems that they are the most feared.

[787] Sorcerers receive signs from the devil and the evil spirits who help them appear in the form of snakes, donkeys, or pigs.

[825] They are different from the ghost and Rainbow. It is said that the pig teaches the person to be very fierce or inclined to drunkenness (drunks roll about on the floor like pigs in the mud); the donkey, to be a glutton.

In general it seems that every adult is a potential sorcerer, and all the more so those who deviate from the institutionalized norms of behavior.

754 554 578 Victims of sorcery. The victims of sorcery are found everywhere among the people, without any distinction as to sex or age, status or function. The sorcerer himself commonly takes the initiative, but he is also at the disposal of those who want to employ him.

The victims of sorcery frequently are those people who are efficient, hard-working, and frugal, virtues which in our society lead to the development of a capitalist economy.

754 554 153 578 In Santa Rosa they speak of the lamented death of one of their ex-gobernadores. He was young -- they say -- intelligent, a good conversationalist, /257/ and very hard-working. He owned much land and good fields of coffee, yuca, maize, and sugar cane. Jealousy, the source of discord and injustice, motivated the sorcerers Lorenzo Io and Dolores Oinó, his wife, who joined forces at once with the greatest of the sorceresses, Felisa Ipia, in order to put an end to this man's life. This is the judgment of the curers and the opinion of the community. But the accusation was made by the victim himself, who, in the course of his death agony, which was prolonged, dreamed of the above-mentioned sorcerers. The dying man repeatedly requested that the sorcerers should be sent for, so that he might settle accounts with them. When they left his house to attend to the wish of the dying man, he expired. He died convinced that they had cast a spell upon him.

/257 cont./

754 A curer from Santa Rosa, while taking a spell off a sick
554 person, explained that this man owned much land and that they
152 had cast a spell upon him in order to appropriate it.
598

In Calderas a man who can read, write, and make memorials for the Alcaldía of Inzá, a maker of fireworks, builder of houses, and good farmer, was naturally the cause of envy. A sorcerer wanted to kill him. He called his soul while he was asleep. But the one called was aided by the soul of his brother, who blew mambe toward him. On the following day his left eye became white and was on the point of dropping out. A curer was able to cure him, but he remained one-eyed. The two brothers remained enemies of the sorcerer.

754 On another occasion and in the same parcialidad, two
613 brothers gave a sorcerer a beating. In revenge he cast a spell
623 on both within a year. Fearful of punishment, the sorcerer went to other parcialidades, but on his return the cabildo put him in the stocks.

In the old days -- says a curer from Santa Rosa -- the cabildos punished the sorcerers. Those of today are afraid of them. The elders /mayores/ have died bewitched. Actually, the Indians refuse to serve on the cabildo or to accept the post of capitán for fear of the sorcerers.

754 The sorcerers are all thieves. They often steal under the
685 very eyes of the owner, who, fearful that they will cast a spell upon him, does not make the slightest protest. But the sorcerers, in turn, fearful that he might complain to the white authorities, cast a spell upon him.

754 In Calderas, those who purchase livestock to expand their small hacienda have been attacked by sorcery.

754 The Indian who has lived with the whites, who has adopted
177 their clothing, their dietary habits, and their agricultural and
554 cattle-raising techniques, /258/ and who has given up the habit of consuming coca and chicha is not only the victim of magical attacks, but is the direct recipient of offensive words and deeds.

/258 cont./

754 Thus, the victims are "the most skillful, the most charitable
554 toward travelers, the friends of the whites, those who display the most friendliness among the natives, those who have much livestock, large tracts of land, good plantings." In this phrase are listed almost the full gamut of the victims of sorcery. From previous examples, we see that those who have land, animals, mental ability and manual dexterity, and good fields, the energetic numbers of the cabildo, those who take the path
[182] of transculturation, are victims of sorcery. In addition, revenge and resentment are evened up by means of sorcery.

754 It is not surprising that undesirable whites are victims of
648 sorcery. The undesirable ones are those who covet their lands. The curers, on their own initiative or supported by the cabildo, call the soul of the white at a strategic spot, capture it, whip it with pringamoza (Urticaceae) and put bad remedies on it so that it will never return to the region. They say that the white begins to feel too lazy to travel in the area and finally decides to return to his country.

[177] In parcialidades such as Calderas, where much resistance is shown against living with and contact with the white, there are some people who are such sorcerers and such enemies of the white that even in the church they leave enchanted eggs so that not even the priest will come.

754 Among the victims of sorcery are parturient women and newborn babies, when the sorcerer or other envious persons do not want a certain family to prosper.

The power of sorcerers extends not only to human beings
[433] and animals, but also to the plantings. The loss of a planting
[167] means suffering from hunger, a shortage of coca, and emi-
[464] gration of the parents to distant places in order to hire out as laborers.

In the clearing they may put enchanted eggs, salt, pubic hair, or capio maize in order that the planting be lost.

/261 cont./

683 The aversion that the people of Santa Rosa have for the
554 sorceress Ipia is expressed clearly in the words of one té eu:
754 "This old woman should be brought to the pueblo, her remedies burned, she should be bathed in ají water, manacled, and kept like this overnight to prevent her from running away, bathing with her remedies, and turning back into a sorceress."

683 In this same parcialidad the sorcerers accused of having
[623] killed the former gobernador with their tricks were given the following punishment by the Cabildo.

The sorcerers, taken from their houses with all their pouches of remedies, were led to the pueblo. In the plaza and in the presence of the people, the capitán took from the pouches remedy after remedy, showing it to the public and asking about its uses. The remedies were unknown in most cases and the sorcerers gave no information about them. They made a large pile. The gobernador of the cabildo says that they even had earth from the cemetery. He sprinkled the remedies with gasoline, put the sorcerers in the middle, and lighted the fire. The frightened sorcerers begged for forgiveness, claiming that they were innocent.

It is said that in the pouches they found flowers of sulphur, with which they /262/ prepared a drink that they forced them to take in order to rid them of evil spirits. The sorcerers, on their part, say that the drink in question was a mixture of the excrements of domestic animals and human feces.

The sorcerers had to remain at the wake overnight and dig part of the grave. After the burial they were invited to the meal which is offered on such occasions, an invitation which they refused, but they were forced to attend. With the food it is said that they were given pubic hair, according to the sorcerers. Then the people tossed them into a pond.

683 In Calderas the punishments are more violent. In 1951,
184 they took a sorcerer, put him in the stocks for two days, forced him to take the drink of excrements, whipped him,

/263 cont./

182 754 The people perceive only the effects. Only the expectant attitude announces to us its presence. The latent fears tell us of its vigor. The members of the cabildo, the capitán, the té eu, the working men, the parturient women have a strong fear of sorcery.

When the pest spreads through the community, when the elders die and their experience and advice are lost, thoughts [761] turn inevitably to the power of the sorcerers. Most deaths are brought about by sorcerers, the informants say.

754 182 177 Sorcery is a powerful barrier against the introduction of the customs of a capitalist economy and also against the intrusion of the whites in their parcialidades. It is strange that sorcery should exist in the less acculturated parcialidades, while in San Andrés it has practically disappeared. It is said to have been vigorous until 1926, the year when the Municipal Council of Inzá established in the parcialidad a settlement area in which the whites settled. With this measure living together was inescapable and they chose to accept them. Nevertheless, during the drinking bouts of the old people, the tremendous resentment that has become natural to them still crops out.

182 754 423 [554] [152] Furthermore, it makes its influences felt in the distribution of land. Each family has lands from which it lives. With the increase in population the problem of their unequal distribution has become prominent. Those who have the most land are the targets of envy and sorcery; they are more prone to magical attacks aimed at taking away their land. Intrasocial tensions 754 182 appear to be brought into equilibrium by means of this institution. The fear of reprisals checks aggression. Revenge is too prejudicial, since it can be manifested not only against [184] individuals, but also against animals and plantings. It is [177] perfectly true to say that while in Calderas acts of bloodshed [675] are rare and suicide is unknown, in San Andres, a parcialidad [762] which is largely acculturated, the homicides, murders, and cases of arson are hair-raising.

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white),
[685] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.
[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.
222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

/328 cont./

388 43 began to use other types of raw materials. The death blow was thus given to the only home industry of the above-mentioned regions. Wax is still gathered, but the price for an arroba in Silvia does not reach eight pesos. There is no longer any profit.

388 [373] [796] The Indians go on using it to make candles for household consumption and above all for illumination at religious fiestas. We have described the methods of gathering, extracting, and manufacturing laurel wax in the work entitled "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," published in the Revista Colombiana de Folklore, Number 2 of 1953.

/329/

Mingas

476 461 [464] The minga is the most widespread form of labor among the Páez. The natives can work for themselves alone and are excellent laborers. But the task would demand more of their time and effort. Thus, the minga serves to prevent "boredom" during the work, to gain time, and to provide a labor force which would otherwise be hard to obtain.

476 The minga then is a co-operative system of labor whereby the interested party invites a specific number of acquaintances to perform a job, duly rewarding them with food, drink, and coca. "Communal work for any particular individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense," says Hernández de Alba /cited in English/.

476 554 [231] Indispensable articles of reward are meat, chicha, and, in nearly all the parcialidades, coca. The incidence of the mingas is thus almost in direct proportion to the possession of domestic animals. Those who lack such stock, that is to say, the poor according to the concepts of Páez culture, work alone or in the company of their sons, if they have any.

476 241 In the course of the cultivation cycle the following mingas are held: to fell the trees (clearings); to pile up the wood that remains after the burning and to cut stakes for the fence; to build fences; to do the planting and weeding.

In Calderas a minga for clearing is carried out in the following way:

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

/366 cont./

[77] are more acculturated. All of these circumstances have permitted the extensification of the cultivation of garlic, wheat, and especially potatoes, as well as the extensification and intensification of livestock-raising, which, in turn, has given rise to a series of phenomena now in the full process of development, such as the modification of work schedules and agricultural cycles, the regularization of trade and transport, the appearance of the habit of capitalization and of the use of credit, the use of barbed wire for fencing, reforestation on a eucalyptus base, the development of household industries, modification of the diet and eating times, adoption of specific objects of adornment by the women (gold earrings), disappearance of coca consumption ("deculturation," to use Fernando Ortiz's neologism), social stratification, the undermining of the institutions of the té eu and the nasa jihi, the calming of the real and magical aggressiveness against the "whites," intensification of primary education, and greater conviction in religious beliefs.

In the temperate zone in general and in San Andrés in particular, the cultivation of coffee is in full swing, and the consequences of this economic fact are beginning to be visible. The palm hat, very common in the parcialidad of Calderas, is not seen very much among the Andresunos, who are adopting the cloth hat of the "whites"; some of them already wear sandals or shoes, and likewise the use of the poncho and of the bag of a manufacture foreign to the culture is spreading; the agricultural implements are being enriched in the same manner as modern housewares; although the most widespread labor system in the parcialidad is that of the mingas, some already pay daily wages for work on their fields; the consumption of meat and panela is [756] quite frequent when there are coffee harvests. It is also interest- [554] ing that in the entire parcialidad there are only two té eu, who are not greatly respected, though they utilize the services of the té eu of Calderas.

[137] /367/ The "criolla" is the most widespread variety of sugar cane and the one which has been fully accepted by the natives, to the point of being regarded as their own, but other new

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

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[177] Some had wooden doors and windows, and were built with nails and wires, though most were still made with vegetable materials.

The modern *Moguex* house has two rooms. The main one, entered through a small door, serves as storeroom for goods to be sold, reception hall, dancing place, and a room in which to keep watch over the dead. The other is a pantry for provisions and drinks; here are kept kitchen utensils. In the center is the fireplace and around it dried cowhides or platform beds made of horizontal poles tied to stakes driven in the ground. One's neighbors aid him to build his house, transporting heavy timbers over light rollers and singing rhythmically as they heave together. If the owner of a new house is a man of means, he pays for a feast of benediction or consecration carried out with a Catholic priest, a godfather, and a godmother.

The *Páez* does all this and in addition puts some pieces of silver money under his house to assure his good fortune. In the main house he places the metate on stakes, and in a secondary house, the press for extracting wax from laurel, one or more troughs or hollowed trunks, and large jars for chicha and guarapo. From the roof frame hang bags, or "mochilas," of netted hemp for belongings. There is also a bamboo candlestick, the wooden feast drum, sometimes a tiple or small guitar, and, nailed to the wall, a spindle. Outside, the loom stands against the wall Beyond it is the sugarcane mill, which is made of a section of tree trunk with a hole above a projection on which the cane is pressed by hand with a rod which crosses the hole. Some mills consist of two or three wooden cylinders rotated by animal power.

In each maize field is a small, temporary house and a high platform where a watchman frightens the parrots and parakeets with periodic cries and motions.

Each *Páez* group today has its communally built pueblo, with "bahareque" buildings grouped around a rectangular plaza: a church, with its arched portico and small tower in imitation of Colonial architecture, a house for the priest, a school, and two or three large houses for meetings and fiestas, where they dance, sing, and sleep during fiesta days. But ordinarily, the people remain at their distant houses and fields, and do not live at the pueblo, the only permanent inhabitants of which are a few Whites and Mestizos.

ENGINEERING WORKS

The Spaniards found bridges which they described as "weak and flexible bridges of bamboo" and "bridges of vines." A territory so broken and crossed with so many rivers and canyons naturally stimulated the *Páez* in the construction of bridges and the laying out of roads. Today they make four kinds of bridges: (1) A simple vine or cable stretched across the river; (2) a kind of wooden stairs placed

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

list presented by a council composed of former governors, the captain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but generally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

Property.—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property. Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adornments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still litigations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.